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PAGE 01 STATE 117949
ORIGIN INR-10

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SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 117949

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S E C R E T STATE 117949

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SUBJECT: INTSUM 560 - MAY 9, 1978

LONDON FOR KINSOLVING
PARIS FOR NICHOLAS MURPHY
OTHER ADDRESSEES FOR CHIEFS OF MISSION

1. ISRAEL. ACCORDING TO EMBASSY TEL AVIV, REACTIONS IN ISRAEL TO BEGIN'S US VISIT ARE CRYSTALLIZING INTO AN INITIAL ASSESSMENT THAT IS AT ONCE SKEPTICAL AND UPBEAT. THE VISIT IS SEEN AS HIGHLIGHTING THE BETTER ATMOSPHERICS OF US-ISRAELI RELATIONS, BUT MOST OBSERVERS ARE SKEPTICAL THAT ANY REAL IMPROVEMENT IN THESE RELATIONS HAS OCCURRED IN THE ABSENCE OF SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENT ON KEY ISSUES. MOREOVER, THE PRESS HAS EXPRESSED LITTLE HOPE OF ANY IMMINENT PROGRESS IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. THE ULTIMATE DEGREE OF BEGIN'S SUCCESS, HOWEVER, WILL BE JUDGED BY THE OUTCOME OF THE ARMS PACKAGE DEAL.

2. MEANWHILE, SOME RANKING MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE, THE LARGEST PARTY IN THE GOVERNMENT AFTER LIKUD, ARE PRESSING THEIR LEADERSHIP TO PULL THE PARTY OUT OF THE COALITION BECAUSE OF BEGIN'S HARD LINE ON PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. THE DISSIDENTS DO NOT CLAIM TO HAVE THE ENDORSEMENT OF A MAJORITY OF THE PARTY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 117949

BUT THEY NEVERTHELESS REMAIN OPTIMISTIC THAT DISILLUSIONMENT WITH BEGIN'S PEACE STRATEGY WILL INCREASE OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS AND GRADUALLY DRAW THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP TO THEIR SIDE. THIS GROUP PLANNED TO HOLD A MEETING LAST NIGHT IN AN EFFORT TO IMPRESS THE PARTY'S SENIOR LEADERSHIP WITH THE BACKING THEY ALREADY HAVE.

3. NEARLY HALF OF THE DMC'S 15-MEMBER KNESSET DELEGATION AND A GROWING NUMBER OF THE PARTY'S RANK-AND-FILE ARE INCREASINGLY RESTLESS WITH BEGIN'S FOREIGN POLICY. THEY BELIEVE THAT STAYING IN THE COALITION DESPITE BEGIN'S CONTINUING REFUSAL TO CONSIDER ANY TERRITORIAL WITHDRAWAL FROM THE OCCUPIED WEST BANK CONTRADICTS THE DMC'S PLATFORM, WHICH CALLS FOR SOME TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS AS PART OF A FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT.

4. IN RECENT WEEKS, DMC DISSENTERS HAVE PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN ORGANIZING "PEACE NOW" DEMONSTRATIONS CALLING FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN NEGOTIATIONS. TWICE IN THE LAST 10 DAYS, ADVERTISEMENTS SIGNED BY HUNDREDS OF DMC VOTERS HAVE APPEARED IN LEADING ISRAELI NEWSPAPERS CALLING ON PARTY HEAD YIGAEEL YADIN EITHER TO FORCE THE

GOVERNMENT TO CHANGE ITS STANCE OR TO LEAD THE PARTY OUT OF THE COALITION.

5. THE DISSIDENTS, MANY OF WHOM COME FROM THE FORMER DOVISH SHINUI REFORM MOVEMENT, NEARLY BOLTED THE DMC IN JANUARY. THEY CONTINUE TO EXPRESS DEEP DISSATISFACTION WITH YADIN'S INEPT LEADERSHIP, HIS LACK OF INFLUENCE WITHIN THE COALITION, AND THE PARTY'S INABILITY TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT HEADWAY ON ELECTORAL AND OTHER DOMESTIC REFORM LEGISLATION--A KEY PLANK IN THE PARTY'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN A YEAR AGO.

6. THIS PRESENT DISAFFECTION WITH GOVERNMENT POLICY DOES NOT SEEM TO BE SHARED BY YADIN OR THE OTHER THREE DMC
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 117949

CABINET MINISTERS, ALL OF WHOM SEEM INTENT ON HOLDING ON TO THEIR PORTFOLIOS AND WORKING FROM THE INSIDE TO CHANGE GOVERNMENT POLICIES.

7. EVEN AMNON RUBINSTEIN, THE FORMER SHINUI HEAD AND OSTENSIBLE LEADER OF THIS DMC GROUP, DOES NOT NOW APPEAR TO FAVOR WITHDRAWAL FROM THE COALITION. AS HIS PRICE FOR REMAINING IN THE PARTY, RUBINSTEIN RECENTLY DEMANDED AND WON A LARGER ROLE IN PARTY COUNCILS. SINCE THEN, HE HAS SOMEWHAT MUTED HIS EARLIER CRITICISMS OF YADIN AND BEGIN.
(CONFIDENTIAL)

8. WEST BANK. SEVERAL WEST BANK MAYORS HAVE TOLD OUR JERUSALEM CONSULATE THAT THEY RECENTLY RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE MILITARY GOVERNOR FORBIDDING THEM TO ATTEND POLITICAL MEETINGS OR OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS OUTSIDE THEIR TOWNS. THE CONSUL GENERAL ASSUMES THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE INTENT ON STIFLING ANY REACTIVATION OF THE WEST BANK POLICY GROUP HEADED BY THE MAYORS OF NABLUS AND HEBRON. ALSO, THE ISRAELIS MAY BE TRYING TO BLOCK ANY MAYOR FROM ATTRACTING A SIGNIFICANT FOLLOWING OUTSIDE HIS TOWN. (SECRET)

9. JORDAN. KING HUSSEIN'S PLAN FOR ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL (NCC) HAS AROUSED INTERNAL DISSATISFACTION. THE GRUMBLING STEMS FROM THE LACKLUSTER MEMBERSHIP OF THE COUNCIL AND ITS LIMITED MANDATE. WHILE THESE COMPLAINTS PROBABLY WILL NOT CAUSE MAJOR POLITICAL PROBLEMS, THEY REFLECT THE KING'S LESS THAN COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING OF THE PUBLIC MOOD. FURTHERMORE, OPPOSITION ELEMENTS CAN USE THIS ISSUE AS A FOCUS FOR THEIR CONTINUING EFFORTS TO EMBARRASS THE REGIME.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 117949

10. ONE OF THE NCC MEMBERS HAS RESIGNED ALREADY--LESS THAN TWO WEEKS AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT. HE DEMONSTRATED SURPRISING AUDACITY BY INFORMING THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO BELONG TO AN ORGANIZATION CONSIDERED A "NON-STARTER." AMPLIFYING HIS VIEWS TO PRIME MINISTER BADRAN, HE COMPLAINED THAT THE NCC HAD BEEN GIVEN NO REAL RESPONSIBILITIES. THE JORDANIAN MEDIA HAVE REFRAINED FROM PUBLICIZING THE RESIGNATION, PERHAPS REFLECTING PALACE CONCERN THAT OTHER MEMBERS MIGHT RESIGN AS WELL.

11. OPPONENTS OF THE REGIME WHO FAVOR A MULTIPARTY POLITICAL SYSTEM IN JORDAN HAVE TRIED TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE NCC. TRIBAL LEADERS, FOR THEIR PART, APPEAR UNIMPRESSED THAT THE PALACE MADE MUCH EFFORT TO TAKE THEIR SENSITIVITIES INTO ACCOUNT. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE KING'S SELECTION OF TAME FIGURES FOR NCC MEMBERSHIP, MAY NOT HAVE ENTIRELY DISPLEASED THE PALESTINIANS.

12. WE CONCLUDE THAT, DESPITE THE STATED INTENTIONS OF THE PALACE, THE NCC SEEMS AN INSTRUMENT ILL-SUITED TO FULFILLING THE ASPIRATIONS OF MANY JORDANIANS FOR MORE REPRESENTATIVE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. THE SWIFTHNESS WITH WHICH OPPONENTS HAVE FOCUSED UPON ITS ALLEGED DEFICIENCIES SUGGESTS POOR PLANNING BY PALACE ADVISORS. THE ORIGINAL

INTENTION OF THESE ADVISERS WAS TO PROVIDE SOME GUIDANCE FOR THE YOUNGER GENERATION OF JORDANIAN LEADERS WHICH HAS LITTLE POLITICAL STAKE IN THE PRESENT SYSTEM. OPPOSITION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NCC, HOWEVER, CONFIRMS THE INITIAL JUDGMENT OF EMBASSY AMMAN THAT THE COUNCIL WILL BE UNLIKELY TO MOVE IN NEW POLITICAL DIRECTIONS. (SECRET)

13. LIBYA. PRESIDENT QADHAFI HAS FOLLOWED THROUGH ON ONE OF THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL PROVISIONS OF HIS ECONOMIC
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 117949

REFORM PROGRAM--LIMITATIONS ON PRIVATE PROPERTY HOLDINGS. A NEW LAW PUBLISHED OVER THE WEEKEND PROHIBITS LIBYAN CITIZENS FROM OWNING MORE THAN ONE HOME AND DECLARES THAT PROPERTY HELD IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE NEW LAW WILL AUTOMATICALLY REVERT TO THE STATE.

14. AN EXECUTIVE STATUTE THAT SPELLS OUT EXCEPTIONS HAS

NOT YET BEEN PUBLISHED AND MAY BE TAILORED TO DEFUSE ANY
SIGNIFICANT OPPOSITION TO THE MOVE. QADHAFI CAN EASILY
IGNORE THE SMALL, POLITICALLY IMPOTENT COMMERCIAL
ESTABLISHMENT, WHICH WILL BE HARDEST HIT BY THE NEW LAW.
HE IS LIKELY, HOWEVER, TO ANTAGONIZE FURTHER UPPER-AND
MIDDLE-LEVEL LIBYAN OFFICERS, WHO OVER THE PAST SEVERAL
YEARS HAVE INVESTED IN REAL ESTATE AND RENTAL MARKETS.
(CONFIDENTIAL) VANCE

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